

# PEACE NEWS

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THREEPENCE

## WHAT ABOUT THE SUDAN?

*One of the reasons why many people believe Britain is justified in a "firm attitude" towards Egypt is the Egyptian Government's refusal of self-government to the Sudan.*

*Below, Hugh Schonfield, whose article on the Egyptian situation we published last week, gives the little-known facts behind these conflicting claims and suggests a possible solution.*

**A**T the same time that the Egyptian Government denounced the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 it also proclaimed the King of Egypt King of the Sudan, thus setting aside the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium which has existed since 1899.

The British Government has refused to recognise the uniting of the Sudan to Egypt, and has declared its intention to be the active promotion of Sudanese sovereign independence. A Constitutional Commission on the future of the Sudan has been appointed by the British Governor-General Sir Robert Howe.

On the face of things the aim of Britain to secure complete self-government for the Sudanese appears in every way admirable, and to be in conformity with the wishes of a large section of the Sudanese people. Egypt seems to be wholly in the wrong.

But before judgment is passed there are facts to be considered, and some pertinent questions to be asked as to Britain's intentions.

### Egypt's case

What is the Sudan? Geographically it is the territory immediately south of Egypt proper, reaching down towards equatorial Africa and the frontiers of Kenya, Uganda, and the Belgian Congo. On the east it is bounded by the Red Sea, Eritrea, and Ethiopia, and on the west by French Equatorial Africa. Bisectioning the country from north to south is Egypt's lifeline the Nile, dividing at Khartoum into the Blue Nile and the White Nile, and the most fertile area lies between these two streams. There is therefore some justification for the Egyptian slogan of "the Unity of the Nile Valley."

Racially the Sudan is not a unity at all. The northern half of the country is inhabited by people racially akin to the Egyptians, while the south is occupied by primitive negroid tribes virtually cut off from the north by the swampy area known as the Sudd.

In ancient times much of what is now called the Sudan went by the name of Kush or Kash, and at various epochs was ruled by the Pharaohs. There were frequent expeditions into the Nubian region. The modern history of the Sudan begins with the conquests of Mohammed Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, between 1820 to 1823. In the latter year Khartoum was founded.

### What this generation forgets

For the next fifty years the Sudan belonged to Egypt, and its boundaries were gradually extended south and east.

Between 1869 and 1873 Sir Samuel Baker, the British explorer, was employed by the Egyptian Government on behalf of the Ottoman Empire as commander of an expedition by Egyptian forces into the equatorial region of the Sudan, and made Egyptian Governor-General of the Equatorial Province. He was succeeded by Gordon, who in 1877 was appointed on behalf of the Khedive Governor-General of the Sudan.

Four years later the Mahdist rising took place, and for the following seventeen years the Sudan was frequently front-page news in England.

It will be impossible for the present generation to enter into the excitement evoked by the names Gordon and Kitchener, the Mahdi and Khalifa, Wadi Halfa, Khartoum, and Omdurman. Perhaps readers of that famous novel "The Four Feathers" will

(Continued on page five)

## His crime: He refused to carry weapons

ON Oct. 15, at the district court of North and South Vedbo, Eksjö, Sweden, Lennart Gustavsson was sentenced to 30 days' imprisonment for refusing to carry weapons.

The Swedish monthly, *Freden*, comments that "what makes the sentence all the more sensational is that at the trial Gustavsson produced documents to the effect that his application to be exempted from service with the armed forces had been approved. His 'crime' was that while waiting for notification regarding the application from the Government he had refused to carry weapons or put on a uniform."

AUTHORS' PEACE APPEAL MEETS IN LONDON

## British writers remind Churchill of his pledge "WORK FOR WORLD PEACE"

**A** TELEGRAM reminding Mr. Churchill of his "welcome pre-Election pledge to work for world peace" and urging him to use Britain's authority to end the deterioration in international affairs was sent to Downing Street on Saturday night by 120 members of the Authors' World Peace Appeal.

The writers, including novelists, play-wrights and journalists, were meeting at a conference in London to discuss "The Writer's Conscience in a World Preparing for War" and to consider new activities to further the aims of the Appeal.

During the conference it was announced that members of the AWPA had been invited by Ilya Ehrenburg to meet Russian authors in Moscow, and that seven British writers had already agreed to go. Others were expected to leave with them on Nov. 19.

In announcing this, Lt.-Col. Basil David-son, vice-chairman, said that in his opinion a mission of British writers to Russia could be as fruitful as the mission recently undertaken by the Quakers.

Although primarily a conference of British writers, delegates were present from other countries, including Australia, America and France. Two Polish writers, who had hoped to attend the conference, had been unable to obtain visas in time to travel to Britain.

### War the supreme atrocity

The first part of the conference was devoted to a report by Mr. A. E. Coppard, a founder-member of the AWPA, and to a general discussion.

In opening his report Mr. Coppard said that the Appeal, formed in June of this year, had now been signed by 400 writers and had aroused interest in countries as far apart as France, India, Africa, Russia and China.

He said that although members of the Appeal were not political writers, neither were they political simpletons. They were fully aware of the criticism that would be levelled against them and of the argument that any mention of the word peace weakened the hands of the defenders of Western civilisation.

"In other words," he said, "peace is a dirty word, the kind of word which some of us who are novelists will know, to our cost, the circulating libraries won't touch."

Civilisation was in danger, but in the AWPA they were not concerned with the relative blackness of the Communist pot and the Capitalist kettle, but with what they believed as individuals.

"We are opposed to all atrocities, whoever commits them," he said. "And because war today is the supreme atrocity, the ultimate insult to humanity, we are explicitly and unashamedly for peace, peace without any quotes."

"We see many threats to civilisation, but none which equals the threat of war."

"War will liberate nobody, remove no abuses in any country, east or west, but rather aggravate the fears and evils which may exist in both."

### Saw two atom-bombs explode

Later in his speech Mr. Coppard said they could speak for justice and freedom in other countries with a great deal more effect when they had publicly dissociated themselves from those in their own country who believed in genocide, in lies, and in the defence of freedom by napalm and area bombing.

"If we are to accept the view that we cannot speak out against idiocy and injustice at home for fear of comforting enemies abroad, we might as well shut up shop," he said.

Among speakers in the general discussion that followed Mr. Coppard's report were Dr. Alex Comfort, Douglas Goldring (the novelist), and James Cameron, whose outspoken article on atrocities in South Korea was recently refused publication in *Picture Post*.

In his address to the conference, Mr. Cameron spoke of the formation of the Fleet Street Forum and of the responsibility of newspapers (whose influence upon public thought was tremendous) in presenting facts as fairly as possible.

He said he had seen two atomic bombs exploded, had visited the remains of Hiroshima, and had spent four months in Korea, and, as a result, was determined to do all in his power to prevent a third world war.

## U.S. PACIFISTS IN SOVIET ZONE

*Russian soldiers given 'refuse-to-fight' leaflets*

**I**GNORING all warnings about the perils of crashing the border, four American conscientious objectors entered the Russian Zone of Austria last week and distributed pacifist leaflets to Russian soldiers urging them to refuse to serve any longer in the armed forces. The COs were without visas.

The leaflets were printed in Russian and a quantity of them were left at the Russian barracks in the town of Baden, about fifteen miles south of Vienna.

They met with no hostility or interference during the two hours they spent in the town, although sixty-five Russian soldiers were among the people to whom leaflets were given.

The four men, as reported in PN on Sept. 21, had hoped to cycle to Moscow but were refused visas by both the Allied Military Government of Germany, through which country they would have had to pass, and also by the Soviet Government to enter Russia.

After spending three months in Europe attempting to break down the visa-barrier erected by both East and West alike, the four will now be returning to the USA.

Their names are David Dellinger, Ralph Digris, Arthur Emery and Bill Sutherland. Between them they have served 10½ years imprisonment in the USA for refusing military service.

In a last attempt to obtain Russian visas they sent the following telegram to Mr. Stalin:

"We four American non-Communist war-resisters with total of 10½ years in American prisons waiting Europe visas visit Soviet Union stop."

"First applied Soviet Consulate Paris July 4, Vienna Consulate October 8 stop."

"We believe Soviet people sincerely desire peace and we consider it tragedy if Americans who also sincerely desire peace are unable to establish contact with their Soviet brothers stop."

"Majority Americans discount Soviet visits by Communists but visit by non-Communists who refuse to make or bear arms and urge all peoples, including Russians to do same, would encourage American people as to possibilities of peaceful understanding as alternative to suicidal armaments race stop."

(Continued on back page)



"Bon voyage, old man"

*The Westminster circus will re-open as the Festival of Britain closed—with an exhibition of tight-rope walking.*

## PEACE NEWS

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### THE HOPEFUL DEADLOCK

WHAT was the result of the Election? On Saturday The Times headed its leader "The Electors' Choice." But none was made. The electorate remained undecided.

There is a sense in which this is as it should be. For until political controversy is based on a realistic perception of really decisive issues, it is perhaps better that both the leaders and the led should feel dissatisfied with the result of the voting.

Last week we observed that the real issues were being evaded. Striking corroboration of this comes at the right moment.

On Monday, while the Press was still trying to extract some coherent meaning from the Election result, the annual report of the Food and Agricultural Organisation crept shyly and unostentatiously into the news. The Times and the Manchester Guardian noticed it; no other national daily seemed to think it worth mentioning.

Summarised, the report said that although the world's food production increased by three per cent. last year, there is a "real danger" that the effect of rearmament may be to slow up the existing modest programmes for economic improvement in under-developed countries.

This ominous pronouncement was given added weight by another report of the worsening of the food situation in India.



This is the paramount political issue of our time, to which all others are secondary. Its relegation to the background makes the ostensible issues of the Election frivolously irrelevant.

None of the problems of domestic or international politics can be solved, nor can they result in anything but pitiful make-shifts, while it remains disregarded.

Historians of the future will doubtless have much that is interesting to say about the strange neglect of this problem of the world's food shortage by the politicians of today.

They will surely note one of the outstanding peculiarities of our time—that at this critical period the Western Democracies were ruled by men who, by the hand-to-mouth, opportunistic nature of contemporary political practices, were confined almost entirely to short-term views and could never look more than a few months ahead.

They will see the Western Democracies arming against Communism; they will find the democratic politicians all admitting that the only way to defeat Communism was to relieve the world's poverty; yet they will see those same politicians abandoning their schemes for the relief of that poverty in order to arm against Communism.

And they will speculate as to why, for the sake of rearmament, our politicians should deliberately strengthen the very danger against which they were professing to arm.

Some of them may say, "Surely it is logical to conclude that those Western politicians were determined to have a war against Communism at all costs."

But others may say that logic had nothing to do with it; that what they are observing was a psychological phenomenon.

Lacking that historical perspective of the present, we are not competent to explain this behaviour—though Dr. Alex Comfort, quoted on this page, has a word for it.



Yet there is a chance that this very deadlock may save the situation. From its exposure of the inadequacies of the Party system there may come a determination to find a means for the freer expression of individual and minority opinion.

For the Labour Party, there is every reason to hope that this freedom of expression will emerge in any case.

When Labour had a 160 majority, over 50 Labour members voted against rearmament. When the majority was less than ten, the rebel voices were gagged by Party loyalty. Now in opposition, the rebels will have no further reason for that inhibition.

And that genuine opposition to rearmament and military aggressiveness in general which is the true instinct and faith of the Labour movement, together with the growing uneasiness at the subservience of Britain to American aims in the Far East, can now be freely vented.

With the new government uneasy without a clear mandate, this opposition will gather strength. And there is much sense in Mr. Crossman's prophecy last week-end, that "within 12 months the (Left-wing) heresy will become the orthodox line now that Labour is in opposition."

WILL the Labour Party, now it is in opposition, work out a more distinctively socialist foreign policy?

Often it has seemed that in this field there has been little to choose between the parties. I believe this is to consider only superficial appearances. Behind each of the parties are forces—ideological and social—diametrically opposed.

In its attitude to India, Burma and Ceylon; to the African and West Indian colonies; to recognition of Communist China and in general acknowledgment of the world-wide upsurge against imperialism; in all these the Labour Government took a position utterly foreign to the Tory mind.

All the same, in other directions the Labour Government often lagged behind its ideals. It could have taken a challenging attitude towards Europe and the East-West conflict instead of letting itself drift with the tide of events.

I believe that the experience of being in opposition again will enable the Labour Movement to find a new flowering of its internationalism, once the soul of its philosophy.

#### The triumph of "Bevanism"

THE process had already begun during the election campaign when the fundamental difference between the Labour and Conservative attitudes became increasingly obvious. It is significant that Labour candidates who have become associated with Left-Wing policies in foreign affairs all did well. "Bevanism" was not a handicap, but an advantage.

Who would have thought that, in an election resulting in a Tory Government, Freeman would have held Watford? Or that Tom Driberg, in a straight fight in Maldon, would have increased his vote? In 1950, Driberg's two opposing candidates polled more votes than he did. Harold Wilson, in Huyton, and Geoffrey Bing, in Horncastle, both did astonishingly well to keep their seats.

## Commentary

### By DOUGLAS ROGERS

All over the country, Labour candidates who fought without disguising the fundamental challenge of Socialism, found a rental response from the electorate.

Labour's achievement is that it fought the election on principles—and increased its vote by half-a-million. All along it has told people not to think merely of their immediate personal worries, but of the bigger questions of society and the world at large. Speeches such as Jim Griffiths on the radio when, in deeply moving terms, he reminded electors of the voteless millions in Africa, set a new political tone which, with few exceptions, the Tories were forced to respect. One felt that politics was growing up at last!

#### "Set free" for what?

MR. CHURCHILL and his colleagues must feel like revellers awakening after a riotous but indiscreet night.

There is no doubt that most of the people who voted Conservative expect manifestly impossible things. Many of them expect to buy with their 1951 wages goods at 1938 prices. Others expect all the controls off in a matter of weeks. Others expect the British Empire to rule the world again. Like Winston their minds are still floating about in the 19th century.

Yet the Government, if it is to avoid the most frightful muddle, must proceed with caution. Even Winston Churchill cannot alter the fact that the 1939-45 war caused a revolution in the economic condition of the world.

If Churchill gives "free enterprise" its head he will bring chaos upon himself. "Set the people free," the Tories cried, meaning "Take the controls off." They forgot that it was because the Government was trying to keep the national economy under control that Trade Unionists were prepared to restrain their own claims, often perfectly just ones.

## THE PEN v. THE SWORD

Extracts from a speech by Dr. ALEX COMFORT at the Authors' World Peace Appeal conference in London on October 27, 1951

IT seems to me that we are facing an absolutely clear-cut issue; both as writers and individuals we stand at a turning-point.

We have to make a personal choice. I think we stand, with regard to war, almost exactly where the German intellectuals of 1930 stood with regard to Nazism. We have an explicit choice to make, though, unlike the Germans whom we criticised so bitterly for lack of foresight and courage, we know what we shall be accepting if we fail to speak out—we have seen it in Korea—and we can speak out with negligible personal risk.

I am a pacifist, and for me the decision is not a new one. It is to those who are not pacifists in the formal sense that the present situation poses a choice.

In our lifetime we have seen war deteriorate from the pretty filthy business which it was in 1914 to a level of psychopathic cruelty which is quite possibly without historic parallel, at least since the barbarian invasions of Europe.

Our country is engaged at the present time, with the United Nations, in conducting a war of extermination in Korea, under the title of collective security—an utterly unnecessary war of the utmost savagery.

In the course of this war to defend freedom, we have given our support to a vicious police state, we have acquiesced in mass executions, in the use of torture, in absolutely indiscriminate warfare with petrol and explosive bombs, which has killed about two million civilians, made homeless another four million, and destroyed every habitable town and every factory in Korea.

Pacifists in the past have been met with the argument that war could be a lesser evil. I would like to ask you what evil the people of Korea might be expected to regard as greater than what we have done to them under the name of liberation.

Does anyone today remember the bombing of Addis Ababa and Guernica? Do they remember how public opinion regarded those actions, and, if they do, are they proud of the change which has taken place? Within 20 years of those events we see our country allied to a General Staff which regards genocide as a normal method of warfare, and to an Administration which explicitly states that it bases its policy on force and not on diplomacy.

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If a war comes in Europe, we know how it will be conducted because they have told us. I would like to know what evil a tyranny, however objectionable, could set in motion which would remotely compare with what we have done, what we are doing, and what we have expressed ourselves ready to do if necessary.

Our armaments, and our alliance with a government whose hysteria alarms many people far more than the intransigence of our opponents, are supposed to be defensive. No doubt they are, but they are in the hands of the same men who have described the Korean war as defensive.

Not only that, but we have reached the

What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. If the Tories carry out their reckless promises to the profit makers, the workers will also claim "free enterprise." There will be a wild rush by the Unions to get another rung up the ladder that Churchill boasted was the Conservative economic method. Already there are wage claims pending affecting nearly six million workers!

I cannot imagine that even the Tories will be so stupid as not to bear this in mind. Their victory is not so final that they can defy entirely the opinions of half the nation!

#### The Daily Express on the war-path

BUT it is in foreign affairs that the greatest danger lies. The Tories are pledged to "make Britain a force in the world again"; and, by that, they mean not, as Labour had tried to make it, a moral force, but a military and imperialistic force.

Even during the election, Churchill lamented the "loss" of India, ignoring the fact that we now have friends there instead of enemies, that we avoided war and set a world moral example.

Throughout the election the Tories attacked the Government because it did not show a strong arm in Persia.

And the moment Tory victory became apparent the Beaverbrook Press began clamoring in war-like tones about Egypt. This is what the Daily Express said the morning after election day:

"Egypt. That is an immediate task. Throughout our domestic crisis this second-rate little kingdom, like a swollen frog of the Nile Delta, has puffed and croaked against Britain . . .

"It is now time to teach this unfortunate people and its misguided politicians a sharp lesson. Should it be necessary to use force, Britain has ample power at her disposal. A stern and realistic approach to Egypt would have repercussions throughout the Middle East . . ."

If this attitude of sheer imperialistic arrogance were generally put into practice we should be in world war in a matter of weeks.

#### A new task for Labour pacifists

WE must hope that the strong opposition will be able to exert some restraint across the Chamber. In the country, those who reject these out-dated concepts—pacifists, Left-Wing Socialists, world government advocates—must work as never before to spread the message of sanity.

The Labour Party was plunged into power, in a way, before it was ready for it, after the frightful strains and stresses of war, and in circumstances that traditionally it had not visualised. The wonder is that it has done as well as it has. It has been without the opportunity, so to speak, to sit back and think. Relieved of the day-to-day problems of administration it will see its problems in clearer perspective.

Meanwhile the Socialist Movement needs to have a great re-examination of its whole philosophy, thinking out again its fundamental principles and relating them to the conditions of the modern world. Too often—as in rearmament—it has been swept along by events instead of seeking to challenge their course.

Those pacifists who regard peace as a social condition that must be organised have an important contribution to make to this process of socialist renascence.

## HALF SEAS OVER

NO, of course, that's not really what I mean, though anyone not fully acquainted with some of the peculiarities of the English language might think that that was an appropriate title for this appeal. For it comes to you from Zagreb, Yugoslavia, where I am representing the PPU at an international peace conference arranged by the Yugoslav National Peace Committee. When the conference ends I am stopping in Germany on my way home to speak at five meetings there at the request of the German Section of the War Resisters' International.

I think that you will agree with me that it is important that the PPU should be able to take its part in such international conferences and respond to the appeals for help from other sections of the W.R.I.

It is a privilege to be in the position not only of acting as a link between PPU Groups, but also as a link between the PPU and our fellow pacifists in other countries. They look to us for the encouragement which they feel in the activities of the largest national pacifist movement, so that the effect of what we do here is by no means confined to this country.

I think I shall have an interesting report to make when I return, and I hope to find that the PPU Headquarters Fund has been increased by a good sum in the meanwhile. For the sake of international peace and brotherhood I do appeal to all to give what you can.

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

Our aim for 1951: £1,000.

Received to date: £726.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

## An Eisteddfod for Africa

### OUTCOME OF PACIFIST'S WORK IN S. RHODESIA

BEFORE a Commission that is enquiring into native education in Southern Rhodesia a witness remarked recently:

"Education in the final analysis is but the equipping of the African to take part in a social system that all agree is fundamentally wrong; and to enable him to become a cog in an industrial machine which has been soul-destroying to the European and which has already eradicated much that is best in the African."

The witness was Mrs. G. G. Coleman, a pacifist who is engaged in running an evening school for Africans in Bulawayo.

"Cultural work," Mrs. Coleman told the Commission, "is entirely different. It aims at developing that which is innate and permanent and progressive. It must lead to co-operation—co-operation between Africans themselves and between Africans and other races in the colony."

The Alpha School that Mrs. Coleman is conducting was inspired by the initiative of Joseph Neube, a native of Rhodesia, who now acts as Secretary.

Among the subjects taught from the syllabus of the South African University are, English and English literature, physiology, history, geography, mathematics, agricultural science, shorthand, bookkeeping and typing. Lessons in Zulu are given by an African teacher. Twelve African women pupils are specialising in domestic science.

#### Reputation rapidly extending

The reputation of the school is rapidly extending. Many of the applicants are workers who are willing to throw up their present jobs in the interest of further education at the school. They are prepared to find their own accommodation and work in the city so that they will not become the school's responsibility while studying in Bulawayo.

Among the activities of Mrs. Coleman is the running of the Bulawayo Little Theatre which tours plays among the Africans, and arising out of this work an African Eisteddfod is now being arranged to take place in March, 1952.

The objects of the Eisteddfod are: To stimulate the development of culture among the African people; to encourage the expression of art, music, literature and drama among the African people, and to help preserve the characteristics of the African people in their own art, music, drama and literature.

There will be sections for music, dancing, drama, literature, public speaking, art, handicrafts, needlework, and photography.

The venture is receiving the support of the African Education Department, but the use of the City Hall for the purpose of an exhibition in connection with the Eisteddfod has been refused by the Bulawayo City Council "in accordance with the Council's policy."

One of the supporters of the Eisteddfod is Mr. Hugh Tracey an eminent South African authority on African music.

Writing on the project he says that the Eisteddfod should recognise that original African work should be placed at a higher level than any European-taught material.

"From my experience of the rest of Africa," he says, "I assure you that this is the crying need today; not only to give individual talent its proper setting, but also to build up that confidence which will lead to African musical individuality. This individuality, which is so important to their true development, is in high danger of being swamped by mediocre European ideas and practice."

## Reorganise UNO

— NEHRU —

SPEAKING recently in his presidential address to the Indian Congress Party, Mr. Pandit Nehru accused the United Nations of "drifting away from what it was meant to be" and called for its re-organisation on a new basis.

Although urging the retention of the original UN Charter, he suggested that the organisation itself should be given "a wider appeal more in touch with reality."

The Indian Prime Minister concluded: "We believe that some time or other—if this world is to survive—the idea of 'One World' must take shape."

## — AND PEOPLES' WORLD CONVENTION —

A DECLARATION asking for a revision of the United Nations Charter will be issued by the Peoples' World Constituent Assembly when it meets in Paris in early November.

The declaration will be taken by delegates either direct to the United Nations Secretary-General or to a specially appointed representative. A reply will be asked for within four days.

The Assembly will consider the reply at the public demonstration which ends the conference.

## WHO'S IN AND OUT OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT

### Many "Peace with China" supporters back

EMRYS HUGHES, pacifism's outstanding spokesman in the last two Parliaments, was one of the few Labour candidates in the General Election returned with an increased majority in a straight fight with a Conservative.

Reginald Sorensen, Chairman of the National Peace Council has retained his seat for Leyton. James Hudson, pacifist Labour candidate for Ealing North, was returned with the narrow majority of 120.

Below are listed the successful and unsuccessful candidates whose affiliations with various organisations are of interest to our readers.

The following abbreviations have been used:

ILP	Independent Labour Party
LPF	Labour Pacifist Fellowship
NPC	National Peace Council
PG	Parliamentary Group
PPU	Peace Pledge Union
PWC	Peace With China Council

Unless otherwise stated, all candidates are members of the Labour Party.

## IN

All were members of the last Parliament.

Acland, Sir Richard (Gravesend). Vice-president, NPC. PWC. With Mr. Leslie Hale was mover of resolution at the London Parliamentary Conference on World Government urging a world-effort to "raise the quality of living of all peoples in under-developed countries..." Ayles, Walter H. (Hayes and Harlington). Quaker. Imprisoned as CO in World War I. One time organiser No More War Movement. PG for World Government. Brockway, Fenner (Eton and Slough). Chairman, Central Board for Conscientious Objectors. PWC. Former Chairman ILP. Last British speaker against Hitler in Germany, 1932, and the first to address German working class after Hitler in 1946. Imprisoned as CO in World War I. Cocks, Seymour (Broxtowe). PWC. Union of Democratic Control. Craddock, George (Bradford S.). Crusade for World Government. In 1929 was President of the British and American Peace Institute which met in Geneva. Dodds, Norman H. (Dartford). Executive Committee PG for World Government. Davies, Clement (Lib., Montgomery). Vice-president, PG for World Government. Davies, Harold (Leek). PWC. Davies, S. O. (Merthyr Tydfil). Parliamentary Peace Group. Donnelly, Desmond L. (Pembrokeshire). PWC. Douglas-Hamilton, Lord M. (Con., Inverness). Vice-chair, PG for World Government. Commandant Scottish Air Training Corps, 1945. Driberg, Tom E. N. (Maldon). PWC. Sponsor Fleet Street Forum. Maj. 704 (1950-1,724). Fernyhough, Ernest (Jarrow). PWC. Freeman, Peter (Newport). PWC. Hale, Leslie (Oldham, W.). NPC. PG for World Government. Hastings, Dr. Somerville (Barking). PWC. Hinchingbrooke, Visc. (Con., Dorset S.). Critic of British Foreign Policy in last Parliament. Spoke on NPC platform. Hudson, J. H. (Ealing N.). Pacifist and Quaker. Imprisoned as CO in World War I. British delegate to Hague Conference, 1929 and 1930. Maj. 120 (1950-2,404). Hughes, Emrys (Ayrshire S.). Chairman Peace News Ltd. Hon. Treasurer PPU. PWC. Johnson, James (Rugby). PWC. Maj. 199 (1950-1,036). Jones, F. Elwyn (West Ham S.). PWC. Union of Democratic Control.

## OUT

Asterisk denotes member of last Parliament.

Aldred, Guy (Ind. Soc. and Peace, Glasgow C.). Pacifist. Editor of The Word. Polled 411 (1950-485). Allaua, Frank (Manchester, Merseyside). Journalists Peace Group. Contributor to Peace News. Barton, Fred (ILP, Newcastle C.). Chairman ILP. PPU. Quaker. Polled 1,066 (1950-812). Chamberlain, Ronald (Norwood). PWC. Lost seat in 1950. Chesworth, Donald (Bromsgrove). Secretary PWC. Clapham, Brian R. (Billericay). CO World War II. Contested Tonbridge 1950. Increased Labour vote by 176. Conbeer, Sidney G. (Isle of Wight). PPU. CO World War II. First and only Labour Councillor in Ventnor. Stated in 1943, when he refused to register for fire-watching: "If I had registered, the Government would have been justified in assuming that I was ready to place myself entirely under its directions and, therefore, it would have been mistaken. Not having registered, I have prevented the Government from being deceived and since my name is still on the street list of voluntary fire-fighters, and I am on duty one night each week, the Government is aware of what I am ready to do—nothing else is necessary." Duncan, Robert (ILP, Glasgow, Bridgeton). Anti-war candidate, Polled 1,796 (1950-1,974). Edwards, Lewis C. (Liverpool, West Derby). Quaker. CO in World War I. Overseer Liverpool Society of Friends. Educated Leighton Park School, 1935-40. Opposed Sir D. P. Maxwell Fyfe, prosecutor at Nuremberg. Fenton, C. R. (Barnet). Quaker and pacifist. Keatley, S. W. (Ind. Peace, Birmingham Aston). Felt he had a mission in the cause of peace but did not conduct election campaign. Lawrence, Harold (Bristol). Vice-president LPF. Was refused letter of support by Mr. Attlee in February by-election because of disagreement with Government's rearmament policy. Polled 11,716 (Feb. 5,072). Manning, Mrs. Leah (Epping). PWC. Lost seat in 1950.

November 2, 1951, PEACE NEWS—3

### Atom quiz reveals 'abysmal ignorance' of U.S. children

THE "abysmal ignorance" shown by American secondary school children in answering a questionnaire about the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, and their lack of a firm opinion of their own, is the subject of an article in a recent issue of "Manas," an independent journal published in California.

Many of the children, the journal says, were quite unaware of the circumstances in which the bomb was dropped, and quotes the following answer as an example:

"I do not feel it was wrong to use the atomic bomb. We warned the Japanese about it, and evidently they doubted our word."

This information, Manas points out, will be news to the survivors of Hiroshima and to members of the Japanese war government.

#### Parents to blame

For the absence of firm, clear-cut answers, Manas believes parents are largely to blame.

"If adults were more frankly outspoken in their views on peace and war," it says, "and if there were less moral confusion and more candour, the young would at least find it easier to remember that such problems exist."

Children are greatly confused by people who declare themselves peace-lovers but who, at the same time, are prepared to believe that war is sometimes necessary.

"This double talk," it says, "must be bewildering to youthful minds, and when minds are confused . . . the tendency is to accept certain articles of faith which blanket the confusion."

"So the 18-year-olds are fairly well conditioned to accept the war-is-the-best-way-to-peace version of how to build a brotherhood."

**FOOTNOTE:** The questionnaire was answered by the pupils of a secondary school in Los Angeles, and compiled by the staff of a small paper called *The Unesco Review*.

## BRIEFLY . . .

Fifteen children in a Minneapolis (USA) church school have sent a letter to President Truman and the American delegate to UN asking them "to remember the children everywhere" and to do their utmost to secure permanent peace.

On the eve of the United Nations Day (Oct. 24), the World Jewish Congress issued a call to all nations "to make the utmost effort to arrive at a common agreement to safeguard world peace."

"Advice to Anyone," the 12th annual report of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, has been prepared by the Rev. Clifford Macquire, chairman of the CBCO executive committee and general secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. It is available, price 6d, from the CBCO, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Women of India are joining trade unions at a rapid rate. In the year 1947-48, women members numbered 102,299, but in the following 12 months, latest for which figures have been compiled, membership statistics showed 119,355 women enrolled. —WP.

A resolution demanding the abolition of bombing planes has been sent to the Press by the Worthing group of the Peace Pledge Union.

Volunteers to take part in weekend services are needed by the International Voluntary Service for Peace (IVSP), 3 Cromwell Road, London, S.W.1.

David Bruce Jackson, 3 Farney Park, Ballsbridge, Dublin, has written a pacifist novel and a play. He says he will be glad to send the manuscripts to any reader of Peace News who would like to see them and will welcome advice with regard to the possibility of publication.

\*McAllister, Gilbert (Rutherglen). Chairman PG for World Government. PWC. Con. maj. 352. (Lab. maj. 1950-695).

Middleton, Lucy A. (Plymouth, Sutton). Organiser and Secretary, No More War Movement, 1924-33. Con. maj. 710. (Lab. maj. 1950-924).

\*Mooran, E. W. (Bedfordshire, S.). PWC. Con. maj. 849 (Lab. maj. 1950-1,524 in 3-cornered contest).

Redhead, E. C. (Gillingham). Vice-president LPF. Former treasurer Central Board for Conscientious Objectors.

Rideal, Mrs. Mabel (Ilford N.). Vice-president LPF. Lost seat in 1950. Increased Labour vote by 480.

\*Roberts, Emrys (Lib., Merioneth). Vice-president NPC.

Stevens, Norman L. (Honiton). Quaker. Treasurer Exeter Friends Meeting. Unconditional exemption as CO in World War II. Decreased Labour vote by 1,447.

Taylor, W. C. (Lanark). CO World War II. Contested East Renfrewshire 1950. One time chairman Glasgow Federation ILP. Increased Labour vote by 469.

\*Vernon, Wilfrid (Dulwich). PWC. Williamson, Mrs. C. F. (Hastings). Quaker. Former Mayor of Canterbury. Contested East Grinstead in 1950. Increased Labour vote by 2,018.

# THE MAN WHO JUDGED CONSCIENCES

By Reginald Reynolds

"AND what was your last occupation, Mr. Snodgrass?"

"I sat on a tribunal."

"I see. Can you quote any passage in the Bible in justification of tribunals?"

There was no answer. St. Peter looked knowingly at his colleagues. They had so often caught the unwary with that question. Peter smiled indulgently and continued, in an almost ingratiating tone:

"Well, suppose that there is nothing wrong with tribunals. We aren't trying to trap you. What was the business of the tribunal you used to sit on?"

"It was about conscientious objectors. We had to decide whether they were real ones."

"M'm. How long did it take you to find out a thing like that?"

"About 10 or 20 minutes, as a rule."

"Mr. Snodgrass." It was the clear voice of St. Michael which spoke this time. "Mr. Snodgrass, can there be a mistake? ARE YOU GOD?"

"Please answer the question," said the Chairman, not unkindly, "Yes, or No."

"No, but—"

St. John waved his hand impatiently. "If you are not God," he asked, "How can you be sure of anything?"

"I don't claim infallibility, but—"

"Ah—so you admit fallibility? You could be mistaken?"

"Yes."

"Are you familiar with the Bible?"

"Oh, yes. On the tribunal we used to quote texts. Sometimes the conscientious objectors quoted texts, but we generally had the best of it."

★

"Mr. Snodgrass," asked the Chairman, "how old were you when you—er—received this summons?"

"Sixty-two."

"And these young men, with whom you used to argue?"

"They were mostly 18. Some a few years older, owing to deferment."

"So there was a good deal of difference in age and experience?"

"Why, of course, yes."

"And you had plenty of practice, doing this regularly for years—three or four of you against one boy."

Before Mr. Snodgrass could make any comment on the Chairman's statement the deep voice of St. John boomed at him from the left:

"WAS THAT FAIR, MR. SNODGRASS?"

"I can't see what was wrong with it."

"Exactly," said St. John, "I didn't expect you to see. These boys were often muddled and inarticulate, weren't they?"

"Oh, yes—more often than not."

"Would you have done any better at the same age, Mr. Snodgrass?"

"I was not a conscientious objector."

"Do you mean that you had no conscience?"

"Yes—I mean no—yes, I had a conscience."

"Did your conscience never object to anything—murder or forgery, for example?"

"I suppose it did, if you put it that way."

"So you were a conscientious objector, yet you said just now you were not." St.

## What is Democratic Socialism?

Democratic Socialism, by Roger Payne, BA, LLB, and George Hartmann, PhD. Three Arrows Press, 303 Fourth Ave, New York, \$1, paper covers, 127 pp.

THIS is an excellent summary of Socialist thought and practice, of the historical development of Socialism, of its achievements to date and of its prospects, hopes and promises as seen through American eyes.

The material is admirably arranged and clearly presented, and as a short survey could hardly be bettered. The account embraces most of the Utopias from Plato and the early Christians down to the present time, and all the attempts, the failures and successes in putting Socialist theory into practice.

The weakness of the book is that like all current Socialist thought, a spiritual content is assumed which does not in fact exist. Personal well-being and contentment social amity and world peace are assumed to be the natural fruit of Socialism, which only goes to show how completely American thought is beclouded by American prosperity and the Welfare State of Britain.

### The famous cliche

Closely analysed, the Socialism described is "economic," and as such it is a bag of dry bones. We are invited to anticipate a situation in which machines are so perfect

Peter frowned heavily at Mr. Snodgrass.

"Well, in that sense—"

"It seems," remarked St. Michael to his colleagues, "that he does not really know his own mind."

The Chairman spoke kindly: "When you had conscientious objections in your youth, Mr. Snodgrass, could you have explained them? Could you even explain today why you object to murder, forgery, theft, bigamy, and so on? If you do, I mean."

"I think so."

"I doubt it. Suppose a man, by murdering one person, could save his country from being dragged into a war which even you regarded as both aggressive and, shall we say, unprofitable, would it be right to murder that man?"

"But the question is purely hypothetical—"

"You surprise me," said the Chairman. "Surely you often asked such hypothetical questions yourself."

"Wouldn't you murder a murderer?" St. Peter spoke almost flippantly.

"No. I should let justice take its course. He would then be sentenced and hanged."

★

Too late Mr. Snodgrass saw his mistake. St. Peter was smiling at him as he himself had so often smiled at young men when he was grilling them. "So," said Peter, "your objection to murder is not a matter of conscience or principle. It is one of procedure—purely a question of expediency."

There was a pause, and for the last time the Chairman looked at Mr. Snodgrass, holding his fingers together as though he were balancing the man's soul, which indeed he was.

"I have one more question to ask you. You say that you are well versed in the Bible. No doubt you are familiar with the saying 'Judge not, that you be not judged.' When you presumed to sit on the tribunal, did it never occur to you that these words had some relevance to your own case? When you set up as a judge of consciences, did it not enter your mind that you were inviting the judgment of this Court?"

There was silence—the spacious silence of Eternity, where there are no clocks . . .

## Letters to the Editor

### A world system

OBVIOUSLY there are many approaches to the eventual attainment of world peace, notably the religious, educational and economic, but unless a foundation of justice be laid to prepare the way, wars must inevitably continue to threaten our civilisation.

The Atlantic Charter formulates the principles of "enjoyment on equal terms," but unless this principle applies to all nations of the world there can be little hope of permanent peace.

The existing Court of International Justice at the Hague has won such high prestige that no government can honourably challenge its decisions. But in the present world crisis there is need of a Court of Equity to deal with non-justiciable disputes between nations to conform with changing world conditions.

Such a court could examine grievances before they reached an acute stage, with a view to finding a just settlement. This involves the creation of an international legislature, supra-national courts and an international executive to carry out the decisions of the supra-national courts.

that all a man need do is "to direct processes and supervise machinery."

Then comes the famous unanalysed, uncriticised cliche: "In an ample leisure man will develop his personality."

Socialist planning, we are told, will provide "at least such plenty as is now provided for an American family," with "equal sharing in work and leisure and all the good things of life," and thus the New World will dawn, for, "as these changes proceed, 'human nature' will also change."

No doubt it will change, but lacking culture and discipline it will multiply its wants and its demands, until a stark materialism devours the earth, which in man's helplessness and despair will be destroyed by atomic bombs.

Considering the high rate of material consumption in the USA and the impoverishment which reigns over at least two-thirds of the world's population, it is pathetic to be told by two prominent American Socialists that in a Socialist planned world, world, national, and local government will operate in glorious unity and cause contentment, social amity and peace to dwell in the earth, apparently forever.

There are more things in earth and heaven, and in human nature, than are dreamed of in thy philosophy, O American Socialist!

WILFRED WELLOCK

# A Creative Revolution

WILFRED WELLOCK'S challenging pamphlet

The Challenge of Our Times: Annihilation or Creative Revolution? by Wilfred Wellock. Peace News, 4d.

THE troubles that beset the world today do not stem from the existence of Communism, urges Wilfred Wellock in his latest Peace News pamphlet. It follows that if the West can bring about a rapprochement with Russia, desirable as this may be, this will not create the conditions of peace in the world. The malady of society goes deeper; it is to be found in the materialist values that are of the basis of our network of economic and social relationships.

"The material, which knows no moral law, has become a law unto itself. If social and international peace is to reign over material and economic life must be brought under the control of moral and spiritual law which alone is concerned with the quality of life, the evaluation of every type of human experience."

Were Communism suddenly obliterated from the world by some miracle, Wilfred Wellock says, "the impasse of our civilisation would remain. Like his predecessors in the role of scapegoat, Stalin is a product of the social system whose leaders condemn him and rage against his philosophy."

The creative revolution that is required, he urges, has six major implications:

1. A new presentation of Christian truth
2. A new education system;
3. A new social, economic and political order;
4. The ending of Colonialism;
5. The offer of generous assistance to the under-developed countries to enable them to become reasonably self-sufficient, economically independent and free to develop after their own ideas a civilisation of high quality;

## WILLIAM MORRIS

William Morris of Walthamstow, by H. V. Wiles, The Walthamstow Press, 8s. 6d.

THIS volume is concerned foremostly with William Morris' early association with Walthamstow—then a semi-rural retreat "quite apart from the busy Metropolis"—and the opening there, at Water House last year, of The Morris Museum.

It is well written and well illustrated, including photographs of typical Morris tapestries and furniture. Among the trustees of the museum is Mr. Walter Spradbery, artist and a well-known pacifist.

## Letters to the Editor

Decisions based upon laws by impartial judges representing all nations will be accepted and respected by the citizens of the world if they are just laws in the sight of these majorities.

If the world system of law be supported by public opinion there will be no need for force or coercive action to maintain peace. The power of public opinion must never be underestimated.

BARBARA WAYLEN  
79 Lonsdale Road, Oxford.

### The meaning of pacifism

GERALD BAILEY'S statement that "pacifism is not a belief in the absolute wrongness of war and violence and much less an imperative programme for non-pacifist government, but a God-centred peace creating aspiration and witness in the life, in the individual person," needs consideration.

If he means that pacifists are to transform the world simply by the sheer beauty of their characters, he is asking more than Christ demanded of Himself or His disciples. There are many saintly non-pacifists whose individual lives are peace-creating and God-centred.

We all see through a glass darkly, and while it behoves non-pacifists to work towards their vision of good, it equally behoves pacifists (to whom has been vouchsafed the vision of a warless world) to share their knowledge with all men everywhere.

The plight of lads of 18 who are being taught to kill their fellow men, the casualties of the battle-fields and the bombed cities, demand this. "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

WINIFRED GREENFIELD  
36 Orchard Avenue, Parkstone, Dorset.

### Fightin' talk

IN my article "Fightin' Talk" in Peace News, Oct. 19, a printer's error causes me to appear to attribute to Mr. Attlee the following remarkable assertion:

"We are piling up arms in order to fight."

No regular reader of PN will have been deceived by this. He knows that no British statesman would ever have said such a thing—it is much too true.

The sentence in which I paraphrased Mr. Attlee's argument should have read, of course: "We are piling up arms in order NOT to fight."

This is the genuine gospel of the Lost Children of Socialism.

CYRIL HUGHES

12 Redington Road, Liverpool, 19.

\* \*

The pamphlet shows how quite apart from Communism, Western Capitalism must inevitably be confronted by crises that will shake it to its foundations. He remarks that despite the fact that "not 25 per cent. of the world's population could live at the American level, American politicians never tire of proclaiming that high standards of living are the one cure and preventive of Communism. . . ."

"Should East embrace Western materialism, the outlook would be black indeed. In self-defence the West would erect an iron curtain to keep back the flow of cheap commodities, while a titanic struggle for control of world supplies would ensue. It would be the conflict of the Dinosaurs all over again. It is sheer hypocrisy to condemn the materialism of Communism when in fact it derives from that of Western capitalism, which is today, under various capitalist-socialist combinations, carrying the entire West step by step towards nihilism."

Those who record the development of revolutions generally agree that these are only carried through successfully when the governing class that is displaced has already lost its sense of worth and its self-confidence.

This applied to the French revolution and it applied to the Russian. In the West today we are seeing a much more deeply-rooted manifestation of loss of self-confidence. We are living in a civilisation that has come to doubt its worth.

It is evident that, in the face of the apparatus of destruction of today, civilisation cannot be saved by weapons, but even the most militaristic-minded among the people must have frequent doubts about whether our civilisation is really worth defending.

What is needed is the biggest adventure in mutual aid that the world has ever seen. The West should be helping to lift the standard of life of the economically underdeveloped countries of the East; and in return we could probably gain help to our salvation in a sympathetic understanding of the ways of life and thought of the East, in a renewal of our sense of life's values.

J.A.S.

## A PACIFIST MISCELLANY

By Percy Redfern

A peace-loving people?

WE British are a peace-loving people. We say so and no doubt believe it. Yet somehow ours is by no means a peaceful record.

When the Romans left Britain (we were told) the peaceful and, of course, enfeebled British were no match for the aggressive German tribes. But the evidences are that with the Romans gone the British tribes so fought against each other as to let the invaders in.

"1066 and all that" gave peace another holiday. English fought Scots; English fought Welsh; English kings fought English barons. And after that, the Hundred Years' War with France, and the insular War of the Roses.

So we come to the national wars: with Spain; with France often; with Holland; with Europe to save Prussia for 1914; with Russia; with Germany, with . . . ? And always in between, the wars with "Natives": Indian, African, Afghan, Burmese, Chinese. Europe became "an anarchy of independent sovereignties," while when there were fruits of war Britain reaped them.

Yet despite all this, and our Trafalgar and Waterloo place names, there is in our people a spirit of peace. We have retired peacefully from India and Persia; we have respected (more or less) conscientious objection; we do have our unarmed police. Our people want peace. But we have missed it, and slid backwards into conscription because of most unpeaceful methods.

In short we have betrayed our own cause, and will betray it until our methods are as revolutionary as our aims. Pacifism or war! What real alternative is there?

### IRENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

## PEACEMAKING THROUGH EDUCATION

"How can we best cope without punishment?" will be the subject for discussion at a meeting next March organised by the Education Commission of the Peace Pledge Union, it was announced at the PPU's annual "Steps to Peace" Conference, last Saturday.

The Education Commission reported that their work on education and peacemaking had brought them many enquiries from parents and teachers in all parts of the country and that their meetings were at all times open to any one interested in the pacifist approach to education.

The keynote of what was considered by the Chairman, Sybil Morrison, as one of the most successful of this series of annual conferences, was a desire for continued study and the linking up of isolated pacifists with the work of the commission through the medium of travelling files.

The Non-violence Commission reported that on Nov. 16 at 7 p.m. at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, they would hold the first of a series of meetings to study and report on Gandhi's non-violent campaigns and the use of non-violence in occupied Europe during World War II.

They will endeavour to relate these actions to the PPU's work; draw up a list of recommended literature on the subject, and suggest more effective ways of educating the public in pacifism and non-violence.

The Commission are to continue their practice of holding meetings at which speakers will be present who have taken part in non-violent demonstrations. They hope to announce in next week's Peace News the date for a meeting to be addressed by one of the Welsh nationalists who took part in the demonstration at Trawsfynydd, when 60 civilians effectively "contained" an army camp which had been erected in spite of protests from the people living there.

The Religion Commission are to continue the holding of religious services based on the teachings of all the great religions.

The danger to peace of great poverty in two-thirds of the world was stressed by the Social Order Commission.

### ENDSLEIGH

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## Notes for your Diary

Thursday, November 8

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields: Open Air Meeting: Sybil Morrison: PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6 p.m. 38 Gordon Sq: Fellowship mtg led by Arthur Chamberlain: FoR.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends House, Bushwood: "My visit to Poland": Walter Sutherland: PPU.

HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho. Heath St, N.W.3: "Is a pacifist Britain likely?": The Rev. Patrick Flanagan: PPU.

FRIDAY, November 9

LONDON, W.C.2: 1.30 p.m. St. Martins in the Fields: Intercession Service for Peace: Dr. Beilenson: APF, FoR, PPU.

ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho: "Peace or War—Anglo-American responsibility": The Rev. Clifford MacQuire: FoR.

SATURDAY, November 10

SOUTHAMPTON: 2.45 p.m. Banister Hall: Kenneth Ingram and Sir John Pratt: Tea: 5.0-5.30 p.m.: Peace Conf; Southampton Peace Council and Trades Council.

SUNDAY, November 11

COTTERIDGE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho: "Is Peace Possible?": Public Forum: SoF.

LONDON, N.4: 11 a.m. Finsbury Park: Open-air Mtg: PPU.

MONDAY, November 12

HACKNEY: 8 p.m. Dalton Congregational Church Hall, Middleton Rd: Sybil Morrison: The work of the PPU: Hackney and Stoke Newington: PPU.

TUESDAY, November 13

OXFORD: 8 p.m. Regent's Pk College: Public Mtg: The Rev. Prof. C. E. Raven, DD: FoR.

WORTHING: 7.45 p.m. 13 Railway Approach: Gladys Owen, a personal friend of Gandhi and Nehru: PPU.

EAST FINCHLEY: 7.45 p.m. 264 Creighton Ave: "The Alternative to War": Sybil Morrison: PPU.

WEDNESDAY, November 14

KENSINGTON: 8 p.m. 5 Horbury Cres. W.11: "Crisis in the Far East": Sir John Pratt: PPU.

## The Yugoslav Peace Conference

### Protests at division of world into two blocks

The following is compiled from various press and agency reports. We hope to publish impressions of the conference by Stuart Morris on his return to London

At the Zagreb Conference convened by the Yugoslav National Committee for the Defence of Peace, Stuart Morris speaking for the Peace Pledge Union strongly advocated the need for disarmament. He put the pacifist case against war preparation and urged the creation of a neutral bloc in place of the Atlantic Pact.

Speaking on the proposed Five-power Pact, Joseph Vidmar, Chairman of the convening committee of the Conference, said that this was not a proposal for a true and healthy peace. At best it would be a new division of the world into spheres of interest. In each of these spheres a particular big power would enjoy an absolutely dominant position.

Such a peace would denote the abandonment of small states and peoples to an arbitrary exercise of the will of the dominating power.

The attendance at the Conference was announced as follows: Yugoslavia 34; USA 13; France 22; Germany, Italy and Great Britain 12 each; Belgium 8; Austria 6; Republican Spain 5; Holland 4; Morocco, Trieste, Switzerland and Madagascar, 2 each; the Cameroons, Algiers, India, Norway, Burma and Mexico, 1 each.

No replies had been received to invitations sent to the Dean of Canterbury and others associated with the World Peace Council of the Partisans of Peace.

Madame Hubert, the French authoress, said that the prevailing view was that the world was divided into two blocs, and everyone had to declare himself for one or the other; for the Soviet bloc, which concealed the horrors of imperialist occupation underneath the white dove of peace, or the United States bloc, which in some countries was also becoming an occupying Power.

She did not want to see France occupied by Soviet troops, but neither did she want to see United States soldiers extending their occupation of France from day to day. Although the Americans were doing this in a civilised and decent manner it was occupation nevertheless.

The resolution carried by the Conference declared that peace could be preserved if the sovereignty and independence of all States were respected. It condemned aggression either by open violence or by economic pressure, and called for the development of the United Nations into a more efficient organisation for the betterment of international disputes.

## WHAT ABOUT THE SUDAN?

(Continued from page one)

have some idea if it. But we have not been brought up on literature about the dervishes, "fuzzy-wuzzies," and the British Square. Nor will mention of "the Fashoda incident" convey very much.

### The Powers on the grab

Suffice it to say that British arms re-conquered the Sudan, ostensibly for Egypt, and established there an Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in 1899.

It was the time when the European Powers, chiefly Britain, France and Italy, were doing their best to grab territory in this commercially and strategically important area. France had dared to raise her flag at Fashoda on the British line of march only 300 miles south of Khartoum.

In the very year that the Condominium was created an informed British writer used these words:

"The re-conquest of the Sudan is the rehabilitation of the Tuti Power (i.e., Britain). It is not a theatrical revenge for a hero's death. Rather, it is the answer to French Chauvinism and Gallic aggression which was registered at Fashoda."

"No quickened sense of duty towards the Sudanese hurried British battalions up to the walls of Omdurman. It was a race for Fashoda, or what Fashoda implied in the scheme of the French annexationists. . . . The truth is no longer hid from us. But it is a matter of historical importance that this point should be noted, on account of its bearing on the question of domination of the Nile Valley."

### Cat out of bag

So there, in 1899, the cat was out of the bag. Have the intervening years made any difference? Does the West still seek some-

thing for itself in this area? It is not so long since Fascist Italy aimed to extend its empire from Libya to Ethiopia across the Sudan.

Of course much has been done for the Sudanese under the Condominium. Many great improvements have been made in the provision of medical services, communications, etc. Standards of living have been raised considerably. There has been progress towards self-government. Today there is a Sudanese Legislative Assembly, and it is strongly in favour of independence.

But the Sudanese people are not yet capable of enlightened self-government. If they had independence, the country would be run by the northern Sudanese, and there would be grave cause for anxiety about the treatment of the negroid peoples in the south. There would also be serious economic problems.

### British hypocrisy still suspected

It is reported that the Constitutional Commission which has been set up is in favour of a United Nations Commission assuming sovereignty in the period before self-government is fully established. This is not what Britain wants, or Egypt. Egypt wants complete sovereignty herself, and Britain some continued share in international supervision. No statement has come from the British Government that under conditions of Sudanese independence she would make no claim to bases or any say in Sudanese affairs, and withdraw all her forces.

While there are doubts about Britain's reasons for staying in the Sudan, where she has no territorial rights, feelings in Egypt, which has some rights, are naturally exacerbated. Britain must appear to be acting hypocritically, and she has really said nothing to prove that she is not.

November 2, 1951, PEACE NEWS—5

### Up and doing!

#### MAKING ENDS MEET

PEACE NEWS would cease publication in a few weeks if the sales were its sole source of income. Each week income from the paper falls some £80 short of its cost of production and distribution. Indeed it is impossible, within our present paper ration, to increase sales sufficiently to pay our way.

How then do we continue to publish the only pacifist weekly paper in the world? How do we bridge that vast gap of £4,000 a year?

Up to now the devoted generosity of our readers has covered a major part of the loss, but the profit from successful subsidiary activities enables the office itself to make a contribution. For instance in 1950 £2,400 was donated to our Fund, £600 profit came from Christmas Card sales, and £150 from Housmans Bookshop. It is less easy to estimate the expenses saved through our splendid band of voluntary helpers, but the office would disintegrate without them!

Higher costs make larger losses inevitable this year, in spite of many economies. Whilst donations have already topped the 1950 total we shall also need a record income from Christmas Cards and the Bookshop. And a maximum effort in all three directions may make it possible to stave off the price increase at present fixed for the New Year.

CHRISTMAS CARDS are now selling at a great rate, but every reader could help by having a set of samples and interesting friends, churches and other organisations in them. See our advertisement below for details—and do please send right away.

HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP: Our Christmas Book List is out this week. If you have not received a copy send a stamped addressed envelope. You can order all your books from Housmans and we have a selection especially suitable as presents for all ages.

And whilst making these things widely known please keep an active eye on that vital target of 6,000 more PN readers before Jan. 1.

H.F.M.

Circulation last week 12,500 copies

What is to be the future of the Sudan remains to be determined in the interests of all its peoples. It is not easy, having all the local conditions in mind, to imagine the Sudan as an independent State. Perhaps here is another case where the wisest measure is to cut the Gordian knot, and propose partition, making the northern Sudan a self-governing dependency of Egypt, and placing Equatorial Sudan under British rule on the same basis as Kenya and Uganda, which it adjoins. The frontier line might be immediately above the Sudd.

Such a division, realising the unity of the Nile Valley, would be politically, economically, and racially appropriate. Why deny to King Farouk the title of King of the Sudan as well as Egypt? Did not the Pharaohs bear the title of King of Upper and Lower Egypt? All that is necessary is that Egypt should be ready to grant to the area placed under her crown what corresponds to Dominion status in the British Commonwealth.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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# WILL CHURCHILL MAKE A PACT WITH STALIN?

## A new chance for Labour

FROM some points of view Mr. Churchill's return to power may prove to be a blessing in disguise.

The narrow Conservative victory has certainly saved us from another Labour government hanging on to a tiny majority by the skin of its teeth and carrying on with the rearmament programme which must steadily reduce the standard of life of the British as labour is transferred from the productive to the war industries.

I have dealt with the inevitable economic consequences of rearmament in my pamphlet "Arms and Mr. Bevan" and now it is a Tory government which has to face these problems, with a strong public opinion against it in the country and with a restive trade union movement which is fighting to retain a standard of life impossible as long as rearmament continues.

And there has been no clean sweep as the Tory Head Office predicted. On the contrary the political headaches are now handed over to Churchill and his Cabinet.

### Churchill and Stalin

Churchill could of course take a line of policy which would make his government popular and dish the Labour Party. He has declared for a personal meeting with Stalin.

Now there is no reason for disbelieving that Stalin is anxious for such a meeting too, and Truman might be quite pleased also. For all the leaders know how their peoples fear war and the Russians have shown that they too would welcome some deal that would ease the tension, remove the threat of an atom war and rid them of their perpetual nightmare of an invasion from the West.

If Churchill could bring off some pact with the Russians which would ease the war fears and lead to a slowing down and reduction of the arms programme, he might come to the country and say he had succeeded where Labour had failed.

I would not be the least surprised if Churchill tried something like this. To become the centre of the international limelight again would be after his own heart and meetings of the Big Four or Five are the spectacular displays he glories in.

### The Tory dilemma

But at the same time Churchill and his followers are all out for the rearmament and the subservience of America which makes this line of policy difficult. The big army and big armaments men both in America and here are deeply committed to an anti-Russian policy and the rearmament of Germany and Japan, and would oppose any easing off of the rearmament programme except on terms which the Russians might not be prepared to accept.

Indeed their own political position, dependant as it is on being strongly anti-Russian and anti-Communist, would be weakened by any pact with Russia and there would be splits among them. It must be remembered that a large part of both British and American production is now geared to arms production and many industrialists on both sides of the Atlantic do not want this process reversed again.

Then there is the Churchill and Tory attitude of mind that is traditionally in favour of what they think is armed strength and which is not likely to be enthusiastic about any thing that looks like pacifism.

So that is Churchill's trouble. He likes to pose as the British lion and the British bulldog and for eve of election purposes is prepared to pose as the Dove of Peace at the same time. He wants peace and he wants rearmament too and the British Tory Party is not resilient enough to adopt revolutionary changes in its outlook even if they are necessary to keep it in political power.

And what about the Labour Party? Is it going to support the rearmament policy now with Churchill in power?

Labour can change its political outlook quicker than the Tories and if it is to be a real opposition to Churchill it will have to challenge the Tories all along the line because that is what the rank and file and the country will expect Labour to do.

If the Labour Party is to effectively oppose Churchill and a Tory Government it will have to think again about the rearmament which it has initiated and supported.

That may be a rather painful and difficult thing to do but it will have to be done. It will not be so difficult for Mr. Bevan and his followers as for Mr. Attlee and Mr. Morrison and Mr. Shinwell and Mr. Strachey. They will have to unsay a lot of things they have been saying in defence of rearmament

**SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**  
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(Two members of the delegation to Moscow)  
Chairman: George A. Sutherland, M.A.  
Admission free. Collection.

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and no doubt Mr. Churchill and the Tories will be reminding them perpetually of what they said in favour of rearmament when a handful of us were opposed to it.

### Think again

The trend of political events has put the orthodox leaders of the Labour Party in a painful position. They will have to change their outlook and think again or cease to count in a Labour Party whose mood is rapidly changing.

The Scarborough Conference showed that. What has saved Labour from the rout which was predicted before the Election was the policy which saved us from war in Persia and which made millions of people vote Labour believing that Labour was more likely to save us from a Third World War. The Labour Party played on that fear. Now the country will expect them to oppose Churchill's policy even if it means that a lot of Labour leaders will have to swallow their words about rearmament. For the welfare state is quite incompatible with the warfare state.

There is no hope for any social betterment as long as rearmament is priority number one.

The Labour Party will have to think again about rearmament and stand for a foreign policy which will bring a real peace.

# "NO CHANGE"

Here is a plain case for consulting the people . . . Should there be immense rearmament? We say "Yes."

—Winston Churchill, March 17, 1951

Our rearmament is necessary and vital and we have got to go on with it.

—Clement Attlee, July 7, 1951

Except where it is perverted by propaganda, the mind of youth is overwhelmingly pacifist. The clear eyes of the younger generation are piercing the shams of war. In their hands lies the hope of the world. Humanity stands at the crossroads. But if youth chooses the way of comradeship and trust rather than the blind alley of fear and hatred, there is no limit which we may set to the onward march of Man.

—Dick Sheppard, "We Say 'No.'" 1935

ON October 13, 1934, a letter went to the Press which was the inspired corner-stone and foundation of the Movement now known as The Peace Pledge Union.

On October 25, 1937, the man who laid that corner-stone, Canon "Dick" Sheppard, stood as a pacifist candidate for the Rectorship of Glasgow University.

His opponents were Professor MacNeile Dixon (Scottish Nationalist), Professor J. B. S. Haldane (Popular Front) and Mr. Winston Churchill (Unionist).

Dick Sheppard (Pacifist) was elected with an overwhelming majority.

What he would have said to those who elected him and to the other voters in the election will never be known, for his inaugural speech was destined not to be delivered. One week after the election, in the full triumph and joy of his victory for pacifism he died.

It seems significant that the date of the 1951 General Election which has put the great war leader, Mr. Churchill back as Prime Minister, should exactly coincide with the date of that other election, in which the vote of youth defeated Mr. Churchill, and

This 1951 Election will be remembered, if it is remembered at all, mostly for its excessive drabness; colour was missing from the hustings, not only in the lack of exciting posters or banners, but in the words and the demeanour of the candidates.

The wretched electorate had little or nothing to make up their minds about, and they duly decided in a way that matched with the wearisome repetition issuing from Broadcasting House as the poll results were announced—"No Change." What else, indeed could they do?

Two ageing men, both agreed on a huge armaments programme as a means for keeping the peace, have crossed over from one side of the House to the other. The new Government, like the last, has to decide how best to fit its economy to the increasing production of an immense arsenal of war weapons. The people are not interested in that plan, but they apathetically accept its necessity because propaganda for it has been dinned into them for a very long time. But as yet they have no knowledge of how it will affect their own lives, and none of the candidates has mentioned that. In any case, they probably prefer not to think about it.

It is this apathetic escapism, arising from the return to Parliament of men who have proved that they have no new ideas about the problems of peace, but cling persistently and disastrously to the policies which have led to war in the past, that is at the root of this stalemate.

What people longed for was the promise of release from the fearful shadow of atomic war, for whichever way they looked that threat was apparent, and the only answer to it the utterly outworn one that peace can be achieved by force. "No Change" rang in their ears like the grim tolling of a funeral bell.

It is the dynamic of youth that is needed now to break out of the fast closing circle of war preparations, a dynamic which will bring fresh thought and new vigour into the centuries old problems of the world.

It was the young who put in Dick Sheppard, who rightly trusted them! It is those who are young not necessarily in age, for there are many who are young in outlook, who must accept the challenge today, not of the hazards of war, but of the high adventure of peace. This is the change for which the whole world waits.

## Pacifists in Soviet Zone

(Continued from page one)

"We met an iron curtain at Rhine when Western Powers refused German visas but have hoped USSR would make it possible for working men who belong to no political party and hold no political office to visit similar working people in Russia stop."

"Long wait has exhausted resources of ourselves and friends so that unless Soviet Government approves visas before Monday, October 22, delay will mean practical denial permission visit Soviet Union."

The text of the leaflets which the Americans distributed was printed in Peace News on Sept. 21.

A statement made to the Press by the four on the eve of their visit to Baden is printed elsewhere on this page.

## THEY REMEMBERED DICK SHEPPARD

In the crypt of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, the church where he became famous for his Sunday evening broadcasts and humanitarian work, PPU members and others met last Sunday to remember Dick Sheppard. A report of the tributes paid to him by the two speakers, Vera Brittain and the Rev. Charles-Edwards will be given in next week's issue.

## An important new Peace News Pamphlet

### THE CHALLENGE OF OUR TIMES

Annihilation or Creative Revolution?

by WILFRED WELLOCK

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It is obvious that a first step towards clearing up this unnecessary mutual fear and towards developing alternative methods of international behaviour must be the mutual contact of the peoples.

That is why we are trying, on a small scale, to reach across the borders and establish contact with our Russian brothers.

We want to tell them of our refusal to make or bear arms and to encourage them to do the same.

We want to explore with them construc-

tion that refusal to co-operate will often involve great personal sacrifices. But with the immediate threat of another full-scale war, it is not too much to expect that many will be willing to undertake the risks involved.

However sordid and brutal warfare may be, individual soldiers, from time immemorial, have displayed a rare courage, imagination, and spirit of self-sacrifice when they thought they were defending human decency and progress. Those in all lands who recognise the futility not only of modern war, but also of all violence must begin to act with the same qualities in non-violent resistance to injustice and war.

These are some of the reasons why we cannot accept the refusal of the Soviet Government to allow us to contact its citizens. These are some of the reasons why we must proceed into Soviet Occupied territory and present our message to the Soviet soldiers and civilians who are living there.

We regret that the means of establishing contact are not more satisfactory but we hope that word of our friendly attempt to bridge the gap, and word of our message of non-violence will be circulated widely within the Soviet Union by those whom we do reach.

We further hope that what we are of necessity doing on a limited scale will be undertaken with more imagination and greater success by others.